several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

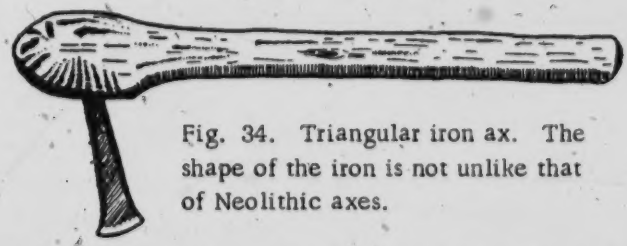


Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Air. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.

These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

301 [114] This stone ring (alibeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation. 172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples, 301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

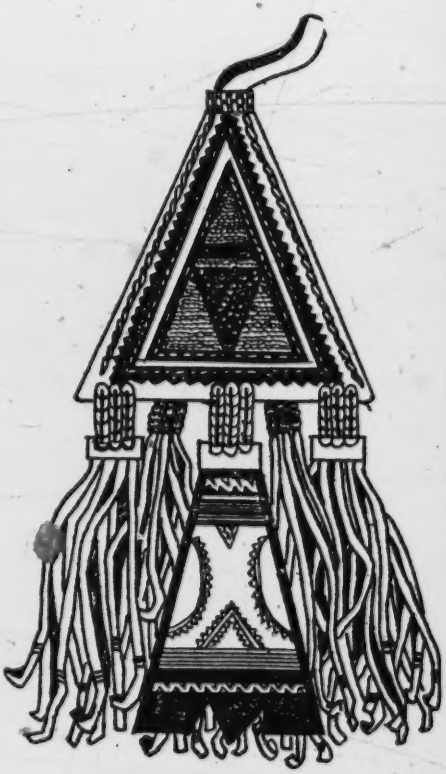


Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

/272/ They also wear 301 [75] quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [328] [777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the [301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more commonly used articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms; they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

438 531 517

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifŏras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions.

[415]

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

177 517

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought.

517 [178 172]

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He

1: Lhote--159 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/298/

Chapter 2

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

797 The Tuareg are Moslem today, but their conversion to Islam is very superficial and relatively recent. Although, like all new converts, they strive to hide their former beliefs, it is nonetheless true that these beliefs have left still visible traces among them. For a few years they have made a point of honor of calling themselves good disciples of the Prophet, and they have even tried to claim a sherif origin. Thus it is very difficult to obtain the least enlightenment on their former religion from them.

What were these ancient beliefs? Idolatry or fetishism? On this subject we can only interpret some facts which will always remain very vague, for, as Gautier says, the Tuareg are Islamized enough to have lost all curiosity about their own pre-Islam past.

•172 Prehistoric and protohistoric cults. -- If we closely examine the rock drawings and paintings discovered in the Central Sahara in the last few years, we find a certain number of elements which can give us an idea of the beliefs of these ancient inhabitants. Perhaps there is no connection between the latter and the Tuareg, which is probable, but it can also be granted that there were common points of contact down through the centuries which have left traces in the different peoples who inhabited the regions we are interested in.

In the precameline drawings, earlier than the bovid period, the totemic nature is brought out by several persons with zoomorphic heads (dog, mastiff) and false tails; they recall the representation of the old gods of ancient Egypt and at the same time the ritual disguises still used among African Negroes. They may be either appropriate disguises used for hunting in order to be able /299/ to approach game more easily, or else they are persons wearing masks

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except [171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained [532 535] in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoûtek one may also see a large

personage painted in the back of an apse resembling an altar; his head is crowned /300/ by an enormous disk which must be religious in nature. Finally, many little human figures are headless, which, according to several scholars, Gautier in particular, must be interpreted as an interdiction relating to the head; the wearing of the veil among the Tuareg would be a reminder of this.

Let us also recall that in Tuareg country there are numerous stone disks, large in diameter, which might be ancient altars intended for sun worship (Gautier). There are also many pagan tombs where the bodies lie in a fetal position, a custom of religious nature which was widespread in all of North Africa and in pre-Pharaonic Egypt.

Religion of the ancient Libyans. -- We have only very little information on the religion of the ancient Libyans, most of it left by Herodotus. This author tells us that the Nasamonians venerated the tombs of those of their ancestors who passed for having been the most just and the best, and that they swore on them by going to touch their tombs (CLXXII). The Ammonians from the Ammon oasis practiced ram worship, which must have been borrowed from Thebes, where Zeus, the god of that locality, was pictured as a human being with a ram's face (CLXXXI). The Auseans worshipped the goddess Athena, daughter of Poseidon and the limmê Tritonis (CLXXX). As for the Atlantes, greatly renowned for their wisdom, they did not dream dreams (that is, they did not use oracles as most of the Mediterranean peoples did) and ate nothing which had been alive (CLXXXIV); this may be interpreted as a vestige of totemism. Herodotus tells us further that all the Libyan nomads, who lived from Egypt to Lake Tritonis and ate meat and milk, imitated the Egyptians and abstained from eating beef and pork; their wives also followed that rule out of respect for Isis, the Egyptian goddess (CLXXXVI). They all made sacrifices to the moon and to the sun. Those of Lake Tritonis made sacrifices to Athena, then to Triton and Poseidon (CLXXXVIII).

[197] Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in [173] 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged [169] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
[P.165A] MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

172 174 Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open, to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig. 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

Chapter XIII

Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa. 172 764

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵉⵣⴰⴱⴱⴰⵔⴻⵏ. Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴰⴱⴱⴰⵔ, "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Taïtoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part. 172 173 764 [192]

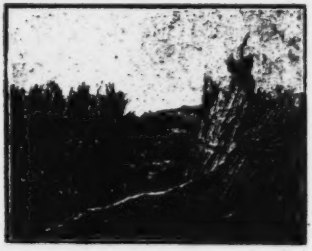
Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, customary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves. 172 764

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 172 173 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the



[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

standing. The others had fallen, and one could definitely see 172
the marks of the holes into which they had been set, as well as
of the stones placed at the base to hold them erect.

The stone that remains erect is covered on one side with [532]
symbols cut deeply into the stone, next to others which are al-
most effaced. It is about 2.60 meters high and about 25 cm.
wide on each of its four sides, which are smoothed and polished.

The other stones that are fallen to the ground have about the
same dimensions, and one of them also has engraved inscriptions.

I took rubbings of the inscriptions cut into the stone still
standing.

Near by in the rocks of the footpath by which it is reached,
I also saw some engraved drawings of which I also took rubbings.

The location of these stones is right next to the trail from
Tiltekine, not far from the spring of the In Dalladj wadi, about
1,700 meters in altitude (in the Koudia of the Ahaggar), on
the road which leads from Tamanrasset to the sebkha of
Amadr'or, by way of Ideles.

I questioned the guide and the Tuareg who know these
stones, and of course they could give me no explanation for
them. "We call them the standing stones, 'ebdaden' ⵏⵏ
ⴷⴷ . Those of old made them," they told me. "It is very
old. That is all we know."

136 /35 cont./ circle everywhere, among the plants of the wadis, around the rocks in the mountains, on the trees, and in the guemouns /cultivated squares/ of the gardens, as well as near the water points.

The gueltas harbor an entire, very varied, aquatic fauna; the moist soil shelters a quantity of insects, larvae, and worms.

Lastly, scorpions are encountered almost everywhere, yellow or black, small or large. The Tuareg fear them. It appears, however, that the sting of the Ahaggar scorpion is not fatal; it causes a high fever, varying according to the individual victim, the time of the year, and the amount of venom injected.

To my knowledge there is no any complete scientific study of the Ahaggar's fauna.

/37/

II

The People of the Ahaggar

172 One can say nothing very exact about the origin of the present populations of the Ahaggar, and less still on that of the populations of past centuries. However, we may be permitted to sketch a picture, a rather hypothetical one, of what the Ahaggar could have been in the remote past, although it is not possible to assign any certain chronology to the different periods.

The only positive knowledge we have of the prehistory is furnished by collections of tools, by the study of rock figurations, by results of excavations of pre-Islamic tombs, and by geological and paleoclimatological contributions. The oral traditions handed down by the Tuareg are not of much use, for they are rare and deal largely in myths.

• 172 /37 cont./ Many chipped stones have been found in the Ahaggar, indicating an early occupation of the region, but nearly all of the objects have been found on the surface, preventing the establishment of a chronology. However, Acheulian axes have been discovered by M. Arambourg in a basin of the Tihodaine erg beneath undisturbed sediments, with fossilized elephant bones. The In-Guezzam basin has also furnished paleolithic tools in association with fossilized bones. Objects of neolithic make are, in general, scattered on the ground.

/38/ Arrowheads are very rare. The most numerous tools are polished, two-edged axes; they are found in all sizes; some very small ones are made of very soft stone, and perhaps were used for money. Magnificent polished pestles, varying in length from 15 to 70 centimeters, are still sometimes used by the Negroes. Also to be found are polishing tools, fixed grindstones, scrapers, and the debris of pottery with linear decorations.

Some interesting information is furnished by the rock engravings. One may say that the Ahaggar is covered with them. At the present time, nearly 120 sites are known, and there are certainly others to be discovered; on the other hand, rock paintings are infrequent.

An examination of the engravings shows a succession of periods. The oldest are characterized by the presence of fauna found in humid steppe regions: elephants, lions, ostriches, giraffes, antelopes, bovids, horses. The most recent are identified by the presence of camels, asses, and crude line drawings of men.

[532 212] Contemporary engravings, accompanied by inscriptions in tifinagh, are easily recognizable, for the legends may be translated.

The rarity of paintings in the Ahaggar is explained by the almost total absence of caves permitting their preservation. Those that have been discovered were found in sheltered places

●172 /38 cont./ in granitic regions. The tassilis, which have genuine caves, have not yet furnished us with any paintings. The most famous paintings are those in the Tefedest: at the Coche and Cousin-Lelubre sites. Another site, discovered in April, 1951, by M. Bobo in a valley of the Adrar Haggarène, adds a new element for the Ahaggar in that its figurations are different from those of the Tefedest.

The oldest engravings, which are termed "pre-cameline" for want of more precise references, have a considerable patina; the patina of some seems identical to that of the rock. We find perfectly drawn animals, /39/ sometimes in a dynamic posture; the line is precise, often deep in spite of the hardness of the base rocks (microgranites, basalts, etc.); sometimes the drawing is filled in in spots. Bovids and horses, although certainly ancient, have a less heavy patina than do the elephants, giraffes, and lions. Certain horses seem to be drawn less surely; it seems that one sees a decadence of the rock art which announces the following period. In addition to animals, there are enigmatic drawings, tracks, human figures; some animals are striped with parallel lines.

Next comes the "cameline" period. In addition to camels, there are also frequent asses and horses, as well as stylized men drawn with a maximum of three strokes. All of the drawings are summarily done and are without artistic interest; the line is often imprecise and there is almost no patina. There are also some scarcely comprehensible figures, some outlines of nails /sandals/, and a few ostrich silhouettes. The Tuareg are unable to translate the inscriptions in tifinagh characters.

[532] Contemporary engravings are rather rare. They portray asses, camels, and are of no interest whatsoever, except to illustrate the fact that men have been attracted to the same places, as these engravings and inscriptions overlap older ones.

Tombs of different forms are scattered throughout the Ahaggar. They are found practically everywhere, and no

172 /39 cont./ conclusions may be drawn from the presence of pre-Islamic tombs near sites of rock drawings. The Tuareg call the pre-Islamic tombs "debni" -- "idebnan" in the plural. The most frequent type is a tumulus with a diameter of about four or five meters, but much bigger ones exist, and some even have diameters of 20 or 25 meters. Sometimes the tumulus is isolated, but most often there are three or four idebnan together, and it is not unusual to find veritable necropolises. If a great many sepulchers are found near the most watered wadis of the Ahaggar, there are also /40/ many at more remote points: in the Tanezrouft and the Ténéré, where there is absolute desert at the present time.

Chouchets are less numerous than the tumuli, although very numerous. Quite well constructed, perfectly round, this type of debni required considerable work; some are as big as 20 meters in diameter.

Other types of monuments, less numerous than the preceding, are nevertheless rather widespread. They consist of perfectly regular concentric circles, marked out with stones dug into the ground; the largest have diameters of about 25 meters.

Rectangles enclosed by standing slabs and filled with average-sized pebbles also exist. These rectangles may be from 40 to 60 centimeters high. To the east, about two meters away, is constructed a U, with the ends pointing to the debni.

One also finds circles entirely paved with slabs, ordinary tumuli surrounded by oval flagging, and tumuli enclosed by little concentric walls crossed by a paved path. Lastly, idebnan in the form of crescents, with the central part filled with pebbles, are often associated with tumuli. The filling of the crescent diminishes toward the points to end in a line of stones. Some of these crescents have an enormous spread, with the distance between the points reaching as much as 400 meters; they are nearly always situated on an elongated and

172 /40 cont./ isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 173 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

172 174 It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft; Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaïne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

/41 cont./ the beings who peopled the Ahaggar at that epoch must have been of a Negroid race, similar in general characteristics to the people of Asselar. They were probably fishermen and hunters. Vegetation was abundant at the edges of the present-day wadis. A fauna composed of elephants, felines, giraffes, etc., reigned in the plains. The Atakor no doubt enjoyed a Mediterranean climate, but must not have been inhabited. It does not appear to be possible at this time to determine the duration of this period or to place it in time; it must have had some connection with the glacial periods in Europe.

During an interglacial period, the change to a dry climate gave the Ahaggar a desertlike character. The Negroid population, seeing its way of life upset, must have fled the Ahaggar to go south until it found conditions of existence suitable to it.

For a long while the Ahaggar remained uninhabited. /42/ The dryness continued, and the Sahara was a more terrible desert for man than it is today. Then came a period of great humidity, brought on by more regular Sudanese monsoons. The wadis flowed again, although not as heavily or as regularly as in the paleolithic epoch. One must imagine the Ahaggar with a climate scarcely different from that of today, but with regular annual rains which allowed a fauna of the savannah to move from pasture to pasture, from the northern to the southern tassilis. The Atakor retained something of its Mediterranean character, evolving toward the residual type one sees at the present time.

With conditions suitable for human life again realized in the Ahaggar, man returned to populate these regions. The new inhabitant of the Ahaggar possessed a civilization that he brought with him, no doubt from Upper Egypt. He was a cattle raiser, Negroid in type, clever at working and polishing stone; he knew how to cultivate cereals, and how to grind and cook them. The women, fat and often steatopygic,

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouelt wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

173 The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

539 /129 cont./ Upon arriving at the scene of the drama, he soon was able to reconstruct the event and to see its fatal outcome. As he was a brave man, he could not return to camp without avenging his brother.

He tested his takouba to make sure it left the scabbard easily, held his shield close to him, and steadied his spear. When he was ready, he cried "Arr arr rrrinek" several times with all his might. (This cry, it seems, has the power to render the lion particularly furious.)

The lion soon appeared, his mane bristling, his eyes /130/ terrible. The man gave his cry again. The furious beast charged. At the first bound, the spear which still hobbled him broke. The Targui threw his spear but missed the bounding animal. Parrying the animal's terrible cuff with his shield, the Targui drew his sword and with one blow cut off the lion's head.

He returned to the tent with his trophy and with his brother's broken spear.

Even for going to the ahal, one must, in the desert, be very well armed!

[72] In the vicinity of nearly all water points in the Ahaggar, one may see engravings on the rocks. The Tuareg are very familiar with these reminders of another age; by tradition they attribute these works to two mythical characters whose names we cited in a previous chapter: Amamellen and Elias. Here is a legend concerning these two heros.

Long, long ago, long before the Tuareg came to the Ahaggar, other peoples lived on these lands. No one now is able to say who these people were. All that is known is that some among them were rich, for the land was fertile and the rains abundant. The chiefs were honored, as their tombs

103 361 621 /192 cont./ capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

[172] Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahélégheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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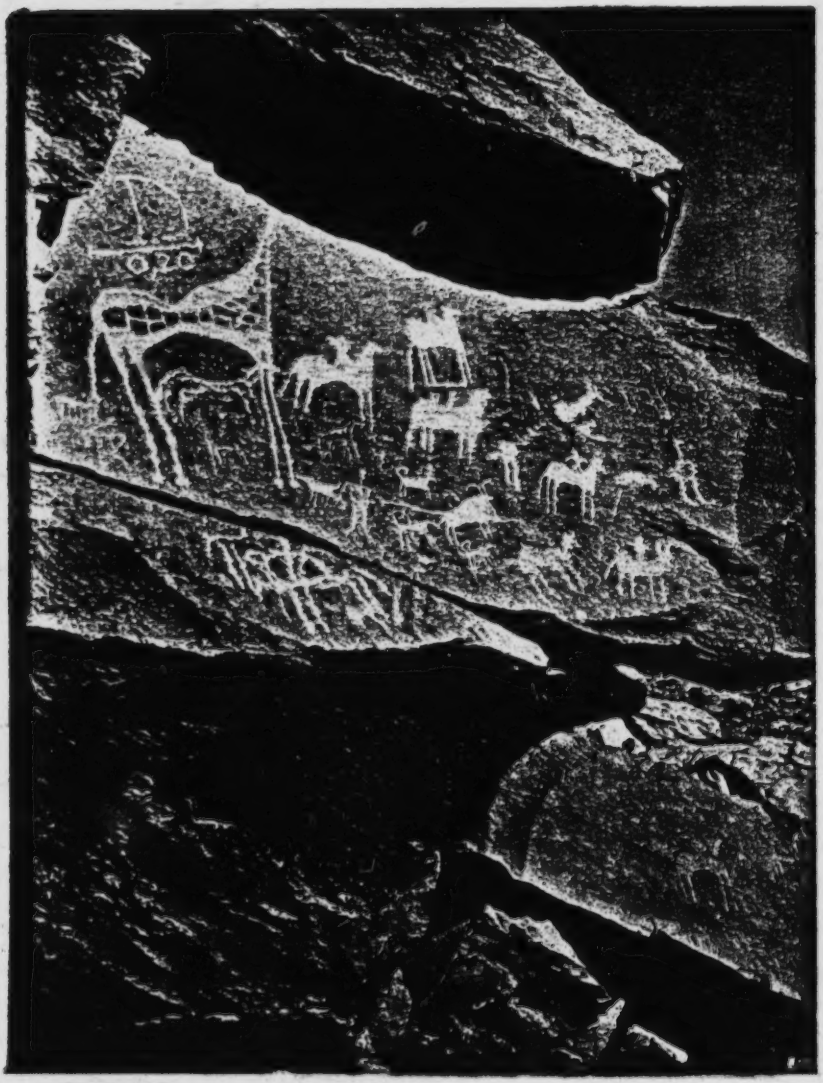

16. Rock painting near the Hirafok oasis.

[p.20]

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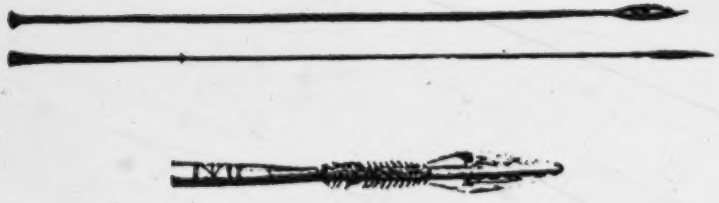

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allay* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it is tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

(1) The spear (*tarda*; Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264).

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166).

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch.

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

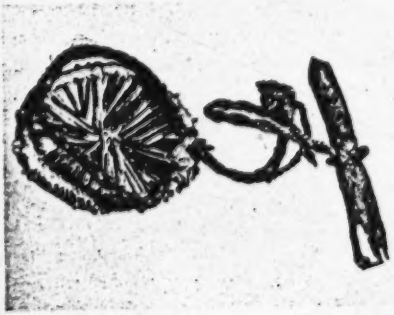

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*tayaut*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*ifulan*, sing. *afula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *abuy* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *abuy* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *ajawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

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Fig. 198. Flint (*taſarast*), steel (*ćnefed*), and lighting material (*tajjert*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*taṛaliobt*), is made from wood of *teſéryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-en-tekki* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

4/2 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

4/2 ●172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tadeſt n eğenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeg* in Ahaggar, *ćweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talaḳ*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akraial*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḥaft n ejwana*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

323 [531] The pottery made in Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have [114] [113] [437] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 307–312).

[Text continues on p. 260]

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 [253] Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *taṛahamt* (Ahaggar) or *taṛajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 174 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins [173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 172 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Êherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 172 174 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest houses ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silef, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 174 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

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seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26×24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinaɣ* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Johuta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

Tradition C.I. This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:—

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a

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173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much

[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had

[114] [428] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas

[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly

[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Berâber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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desert, which they might even cross to allow their animals to graze on Sudanese pastures (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 164 f.). Three Berber tribes or tribal groups, namely the Meseta, the Hawwara, and the Zenara, which, according to Ibn Khaldun, lead a pastoral life in Cyrenaica and further east, are stated to practise agriculture in the area between Alexandria and Old Cairo where they sojourn in winter (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 9). However, it would seem as if to most nomads of the northern desert agriculture was not so much practised that it could provide the necessary amount of cereals for the nomads. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Arab and Berber pastoralists of these northern regions generally spent the winter in the desert, while in summer they migrated to the Tell regions where they acquired their grain provisions (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 141, II, p. 275 ff., IV, p. 28 f.).

We have no information about agricultural activities among the Tuareg who, throughout the Middle Ages, lived in the very extensive area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fezzan. Ibn Khaldun says that the Tuareg have camel-breeding as their most important occupation (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 105), and this is confirmed by Edrisi in the case of both Northern and Southern Tuareg. But though Edrisi states that the Tuareg live mainly on camel's milk and meat, certain passages of his book seem to indicate that agricultural products also played a part as food (Edrisi b, p. 10, 41, 67 f.). Ibn Batutah says that the Sultan of Tacadda (Ayr) knew neither wheat nor bread (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 443), which agrees with the fact that even to-day wheat-bread is not common among the people of Ayr, and he says of the Tuareg (the *Bardamah*) who live further south that they live on cow's milk and pounded millet mixed with water (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). This latter dish is doubtless identical with that known as *arehara* (Ahaggar) or *arejira* (Ayr) among modern Tuareg (cf. p. 245). Information about Tuareg nourishment is also given by Leo Africanus who, like Ibn Batutah, writes about this on the basis of personal experience. Leo says that the Tuareg live exclusively on camel's milk, butter, and meat, and eat no bread (Leo Africanus I, p. 152), but later he states that a Tuareg chief he visited in the desert had provisions of grown cereals and dates (Leo Africanus I, p. 154 f.).

Thus it seems as if agricultural food-products played a certain part for pastoral Tuareg of the Middle Ages. It is very possible that these products were obtained mainly through caravan trading, but the fact that agriculture is not mentioned in connection with the Tuareg of that early time cannot of course be taken as a proof that a primitive type of agriculture was then unknown. The Arab authors do not tell us much about Tuareg economy, and most Arabs who wrote about the Tuareg had no real knowledge of them. The fact that the *Kel Ajjer* practise a primitive type of agriculture in river valleys has not generally been noticed by Europeans travelling in that part of Africa. This form of agriculture, characterized by a type of primitive sowing, is perhaps to be considered very ancient in North Africa. In any event it would seem as if agriculture and stock-breeding during antiquity were closely connected subsistence activities (cf. Bates 1914, p. 30 f., 91 f.). It is also most interesting that the archaeologically known Fayum culture was based upon mixed farming as early as about 5000 B.C. (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934), and the same holds for certain other prehistoric Egyptian cultures of about the same age (cf. Childe 1935, p. 49 ff.). One trait of the Fayum culture, namely the subterranean store-rooms for grain (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934, p. 41 ff., pl. XXV ff.), is almost identical with the underground store-rooms used among the Tuareg. We can add that there is one other feature in Tuareg culture which perhaps point towards a connection between Tuareg culture and agriculture,

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172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' statement that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

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174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

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methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adṛaṛ of Tawa, Adṛaṛ of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

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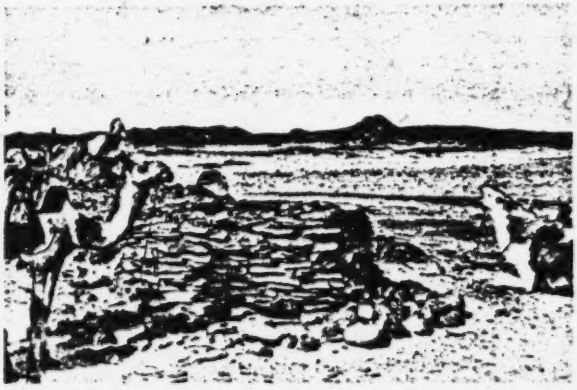

Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding
174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski